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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

24 March 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: John H. Stein
Associate Deputy Director for Operations

FROM []
Chief, EPDS/OPEG

SUBJECT : Request for Approval of CAS Programs Targeted
at USSR and Eastern European Countries

1. Action Requested: Submitted for your review and approval for FY 80 are eleven CAS covert action programs targeted at the USSR and Eastern Europe. These programs are aimed at encouraging and supporting dissident movements in the USSR and Eastern Europe and the development of moderate foreign and domestic policies in these countries through the publication and clandestine distribution of books and proscribed literature. All of these programs are covered under Objective T of the Operations Directorate. All were approved under the Presidential Findings of either 10 January 1975 or 7 June 1978 and are in accordance with the provisions of Section 662 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 as amended. All have been reviewed by the Special Coordinating Committee (SCC) of the National Security Council as required annually by E.O. 12036, most recently and favorably on 13 July 1979. Appropriate Congressional Committees have been briefed on all of these programs. Your approval is requested, with the caveats set forth in paragraph 3 below, for the overall amount budgeted for FY 80, []

2. Background: These eleven programs constitute the Agency's publication/distribution activities specifically directed at internal audiences within the USSR and Eastern Europe on a continuing basis. A brief description of each program is as follows:

a. [] is the major book and periodical activity concerning the distribution of proscribed literature to the USSR and Eastern Europe. In FY 79 approximately 266,000 books, periodicals, or other printed items were distributed, an increase of 38,000 over FY 78 totals due primarily to a reserve release of []. [] also handles the distribution

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of the materials produced by eight other CA programs operating against the Soviet/East European target. This program is budgeted for [] for FY 80.

b. PDGIDEON supports the People's Labor Alliance (NTS), the best organized and most prominent Russian emigre organization. The Agency has supported the NTS since 1950 and NTS has long conducted a comprehensive range of operational activities, including book publishing and distribution, internal Soviet mailings, and press placements in Western Europe. Most importantly, the NTS has long carried out a program of smuggling Samizdat manuscripts out of the USSR, arranging for publication in the West and reinfiltrating these proscribed materials back into the Soviet Union. Some 40,000 items were distributed by NTS in FY 79, including 5,650 books, 14,000 magazines, 10,000 brochures, and some 10,000 leaflets and pamphlets. Approximately 129 distribution outlets were used, located primarily in Western Europe. Some outlets, however, are located in both Yugoslavia and Poland. The Agency's non-controlled subsidy provides for approximately two-thirds of the funds required by NTS. Commercial income and miscellaneous sources provide the remaining third. Approval is requested herein for [] for FY 80.

c. PDDYNAMIC provides support for the Ukrainian Liberation Council and the latter's publishing and operational unit, the Prologue Research Corporation, located in New York. The operation also involves an affiliate in Munich, the Ukrainian Society for Studies Abroad, which publishes a monthly political-literary magazine in addition to books, pamphlets, and leaflets. Published primarily in Ukrainian but also occasionally in Russian, these publications are infiltrated and clandestinely distributed within the Soviet Ukraine and overtly to official Soviet representatives or travelers abroad. The activity is designed to provide moral and intellectual support to Ukrainians inside the USSR. In FY 1979 an estimated 19,500 items of PDDYNAMIC literature were infiltrated into the Soviet Union including some 5,500 copies of a journal, 7,700 issues of an information bulletin, and 6,000 copies of books. One rather unique operational twist is the Prologue contact with the PRC embassy in Bonn and this provision of emigre literature has resulted in Chinese translations of two Prologue works and delivery to China of various other Prologue publications. The Agency's controlled subsidy provides approximately 85 per cent of the required income. Approval is requested herein for [] for FY 80.

d. [] involves a Russian-language emigre newspaper (Russian Thought) which the Agency has subsidized since 1952. This newspaper is published weekly in Paris in

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the amount of approximately 6,200 copies per issue. An estimated 850 copies are infiltrated monthly into the USSR. Andrei SAKHAROV's wife testified to the impact of this newspaper when she told the [] principal agents that it had become "our Russian free newspaper" during a visit to Italy in March 1979. The Agency pays for approximately two-thirds of [] annual expenses as commercial income provides the balance of funds required. [] is budgeted for [] for FY 80.

c. [] provides a subsidy for a major European wholesale outlet for Russian-language materials. Books are sold directly to Soviet or East European citizens and through various outlets of this Munich-based activity. The activity involves an extensive mailing list and a distribution system both in the Free World and within the Soviet Bloc. In FY 79 over 60,000 books were sold and distributed through this activity which also provides Russian-language materials for [], the Agency's major book distribution operation. Approximately 20 per cent of [] annual expenses are covered by the Agency's subsidy while the remaining 80 per cent of annual expenditures are covered from legitimate commercial income. Approval is requested herein for [] for FY 80.

f. [] provides support to Paris-based Literary Institute which publishes a Polish monthly journal Kultura and various books and other publications. In FY 1979 Kultura had a monthly press run of some 7,000, including some 400-500 copies which were distributed inside Poland. Approximately 400 books were also distributed monthly inside Poland and the principal agent estimated that [] publications probably reached an internal audience of 10 to 15,000 monthly. More of these publications reached Poland in FY 79 than in previous years and a total of \$14,770 was actually given to two internal Polish dissident organizations during the past fiscal year. [] provided slightly less than one-third of the funds required annually for this activity, with the balance of two-thirds coming from commercial sales and donations. Approval is requested herein for [] for FY 80.

g. [] provides for the publication of books and materials in both the Russian and Polish languages and for their distribution within the USSR and Poland. Two London-based publishing companies are involved and some 36,000 books and periodicals were placed in the hands of Bloc citizens in FY 79, approximately one-third of whom were from the USSR. Nine of these books were printed in Russian while seven books and seventeen periodicals and pamphlets were published in the Polish language. Much of the intellectual material underpinning

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the Polish dissident movement has come from []. One rather unique feature is the fact that Polish dissidents with illegal access to State-run printing facilities are now able to reproduce within Poland [] materials which result in an even greater internal distribution. The Agency provides approximately 90 per cent of the funds required annually. Approval is requested herein for [] for FY 80.

h. [] involves the publication and clandestine distribution inside of Czechoslovakia of a political-literary magazine (Testimony) which has been published since 1956 in both the Czech and Slovak languages. In FY 79 three issues were printed and more than half of the average print run of 6,000 per issue was clandestinely infiltrated into Czechoslovakia. The last issue incidentally contained only materials written by dissident authors inside Czechoslovakia and published in their true names. This willingness to collaborate demonstrates the respect the dissidents have toward Testimony which impacted sufficiently within country that it was twice attacked at length on Czechoslovak TV in FY 79. [] is budgeted for [] for FY 80.

i. [] involves a small, Vienna-based research project aimed at the Western European communist target and exploiting Soviet suppression of freedom within Czechoslovakia since the "Prague Spring" of 1968. Periodic studies by unwitting dissident Czech communists, aimed primarily at the French, Italian and Spanish Communist Parties, are published in the languages of the countries concerned. Approval is requested herein for [] for FY 80.

j. [] provides for the publication in Western Europe and the clandestine distribution within Czechoslovakia of a Czech magazine Listy exploiting human rights issues. The basic audience is within Czechoslovakia, although a secondary target is the West European communist audience. In FY 79 seven issues of Listy were published, with an average print run of 5,000 copies, over half of which were infiltrated into Czechoslovakia. Subsidiary and basically self-sustaining editions were published by local collaborators in German, French, Swedish and Italian. [] is budgeted for [] herein for FY 80.

k. [] is a Paris-based activity involving a number of seemingly unrelated individuals and groups active in publicizing human rights issues in the USSR and Eastern Europe. Activities run the gamut from media appeals, placements and information bulletins to lectures, press conferences and even protest demonstrations. The effectiveness of

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() activities have been attested to by Andrei SAKHAROV's wife and by dissidents in both Poland and Czechoslovakia. Approval is requested herein for () during FY 80.

3. Recommendations: EPDS recommends approval of these eleven activities budgeted for () in FY 80 with the following caveats:

a. That new Administrative Plans must be submitted for approval on both PDDYNAMIC and ().

b. That CAS coordinate with CCS in regard to the revisions of Section VI of the Administrative Plans for () and () as suggested in CCS memoranda, dated 26 June 1979.

c. That a fiscal annex be prepared for ().

4. Lastly, ADDO approval is requested to retroactively amend the following operational activities to provide for increased funding levels amounting to \$ () for FY 79. In each case, additional funds were made available through IAD/CAS reprogramming and/or year-end fund releases authorized by the ADDO:

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Authorized FY79 Funding Level</u>	<u>Requested FY79 Funding Level</u>	<u>Increased FY79 Expenditure Level</u>
()	()	()	()
()	()	()	()
PDGIDEON	()	()	()
PDDYNAMIC	()	()	()
()	()	()	()
()	()	()	()

[]

CONCUR:

[]
Associate Deputy Director for Operations

26/3/80
Date